The provision of student support on English Medium Instruction programmes in Japan and China

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Abstract

In non-Anglophone contexts, the internationalisation of higher education is increasingly becoming synonymous with the transition towards English Medium Instruction (EMI). Recent years have witnessed exponential growth in contexts such as East Asia, where EMI provision is increasingly being used to determine funding, university rankings and also fast becoming an important factor in faculty recruitment decisions. There are many perceived benefits of EMI, particularly content knowledge and improved academic English proficiency. However, curriculum innovation is a complex process and without research into the implementation of EMI in different contexts, it is difficult to assess, much less guarantee, whether the goals can be met. Using questionnaire, interview and focus group data from a larger study in Japan and China (Galloway, Kruikow & Numajiri, 2017), this study explored language and academic skills support provision, and attitudes towards it, in depth. The study was also supplemented with data from international students and provides insights into how students are supported in different EMI programmes, as well as staff and students' perceptions on the role of such support. This includes whether it should be the responsibility of content instructors or language specialists, and the extent to which content staff should be responsible for helping students with academic English.

Keywords: English Medium Instruction (EMI), English for Academic Purposes (EAP), Internationalisation of Higher Education, academic support, language support

1. Introduction

The internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) is a global phenomenon. In many contexts, this involves internationalising the curricula, establishing international partnerships and collaborative degree programmes, publishing in international journals and promoting international staff and student exchange. As Knight (2012) notes,

> internationalization has come of age. No longer is it an ad hoc or marginalized part of the higher education landscape. University strategic plans, national policy statements, international declarations, and academic articles all indicate the centrality of internationalization in the world of higher education (p. 41).

In non-Anglophone contexts, internationalisation has become a top priority. Here, it is increasingly becoming synonymous with Englishization of higher education with a transition towards English Medium Instruction (EMI). EMI is often defined as the use of English to teach academic subjects in countries where the majority do not speak it as a first language (Macaro, Curle, Pun, An, & Dearden, 2018), although such definitions may be problematic in contexts such as East Asia where it is often part of an agenda to improve English language proficiency. Initial growth in EMI provision was in Europe, where there were approximately 11 times more EMI programmes in 2014 than 2001 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). However, recent years have seen significant growth in places like China and Japan, where governments are actively promoting EMI at the university level, with the aims of both attracting more international students and improving the English proficiency of their citizens and

develop an English-speaking workforce. In China, for example, The Ministry of Education stipulated in 2001 that 5-10% of all undergraduate courses at universities should be in a foreign language, resulting in a series of top down directives for increased EMI provision (Hu & Lei, 2014). Japan has also seen a flurry of government policies to encourage an increase in international students, staff and research, which also has led to increased EMI provision (Galloway, Numajiri & Rees, 2020; Rose & McKinley, 2018).

While EMI has become "pandemic" in proportion' (Chapple, 2015, p. 1), the increase in provision has unfortunately not been accompanied by empirical research, particularly outside of Europe. There are many perceived benefits, both for students and institutions (Galloway et al, 2017), and many of these are promoted at the macro and meso levels through government funded polices and university goals, yet without research at the micro-level, these cannot be guaranteed. One of the main driving forces behind macro level EMI policy, and also one of the key motivating factors behind student enrolment (Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020; Sim, 2018) is improved English proficiency. However, there is a scarcity of research examining language gains at the micro level in EMI settings, and the research that has been conducted is not positive (Macaro et al., 2018).

A language learning objective is not openly declared in definitions of EMI making it different, at the outset at least, from other content-based approaches to teaching English such as Content and Language Integrated Language (CLIL) (Rose & Galloway, 2019). Language is often stated to be of secondary importance to content in EMI contexts (Dafouz & Smit, 2016), whereas CLIL involves a more equal focus on content and language. Similarly, EMI programmes often require a specific English proficiency level for admission, whereas CLIL programmes typically specify

a requisite language proficiency level for graduation (e.g. Arno-Macia & Mancho-Bares, 2015).

However, many universities make reference to the language learning benefits of EMI, indicating an 'expectation that English language proficiency will develop in tandem with subject discipline knowledge' (Rose & Galloway, 2019, p.195). Language skills are also often thought to improve as a 'by-product' of studying content in English (Taguchi, 2014), unlike definitions of CLIL that explicitly state a dual aim. McKinley's (2018) investigation of courses in three different EMI programmes at the same university in Japan revealed substantial differences in the language support offered. One instructor actively promoted both content knowledge and language skills, taking more of a CLIL approach, another provided one-to-one language support during office hours and another believed that students improved their language skills naturally through taking classes in English medium.

With varying conceptualisations of the goal of EMI, as well as varying provision of academic and language support, and the phenomenal growth in EMI provision throughout Asia, research is needed at the micro level to enable a clearer picture of support provision across institutions and key stakeholders' perceptions of the role of such support. A few studies on EMI have been conducted in Japan (Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020; Bradford, 2013; Burgess, Gibson, Klaphake & Selzer, 2010) and China (Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway, et al, 2020; Hu, 2009) in recent years, but there is a lack of research on the role of academic language support to inform how both macro and meso level EMI policy is being implemented at the micro level. In this study, we address this with an investigation of the role of, and faculty and student attitudes towards, academic language support on

EMI programmes in Japan and China to contribute to more effective EMI policy planning and implementation.

2. Supporting students in EMI programmes

2.1 The necessity of student support

Tertiary students require support and in most universities around the world, support services are offered. The most notable example is writing centres, common at a large number of universities in North America and have been in existence at least since the 1960s (Carino, 1995). Other services include individual workshops, group study sessions and help with examination preparation.

Globalization has led to a changed educational context in which students from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds study together at many institutions around the world. In the context of EMI programmes in non-Anglophone countries, the situation is even more complex. There have been calls for an examination of the challenges faced by students in EMI contexts (e.g. Macaro et al, 2018). As Galloway et al (2017) note, '[t]aking an EMI class alongside international students provides students from a traditionally monolingual classroom with an opportunity to use ELF [English as a Lingua Franca]' (p. 34) and international students may have limited or no proficiency in the local language. Typically, students are required to reach a certain English language proficiency level before being admitted to the programme and, as noted, there is often an assumption that if they can meet the admission requirements, studying in English should not be a problem. However, in non-anglophone contexts, academic English proficiency has been found to influence students' performance in a number of ways including acquisition of subject knowledge, requiring longer to complete courses, increased drop-out rates, issues related to communicating course

content and asking/answering fewer questions (Galloway et al, 2017). Such 'language-related challenges' highlight the need for additional support for both the language and academic skills of students (Bradford, 2013; Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020; Ishikura, 2015; Kelo, Rogers & Rumbley, 2010; Lassegard, 2006). Galloway et al (2020), which also focused on approaches to, and attitudes towards EMI, revealed the variable nature of support offered to students. Students were also critical of the general nature of EAP classes.

More than ten years ago, Tsuneyoshi (2005) found that there was no systematic support offered to students who struggled when taking EMI classes in Japan. More recently, Burgess, Gibson, Klaphake and Selzer (2010) stated that support was lacking, making the move from learning English as a foreign language to learning content in English too challenging. In China, Beckett and Li (2012) found a gap between the support provided and stakeholders' perceived needs, as well as between the language goals of the programme and the actual language goals of staff and students due to their English proficiency. The lack of support may require teachers to decrease the amount of content covered and/or the depth of coverage, in order to ensure that students can keep up (Hu, 2009). In more extreme cases, low language proficiency along with a lack of language support may lead instructors to ignore language policies in order to enable learning to take place. Jiang, Zhang and May (2019) investigated an institution in China with an English-medium policy finding that limited English was used in practice and the mismatch between policy and practice was attributed to poor English proficiency.

Galloway et al's (2017) comparative study of EMI provision in China and Japan revealed that student and faculty attitudes towards the provision of academic and language support varied. Most students agreed that EMI content lecturers have a

duty to help students with their language-related needs and that EMI content classes should be supplemented with English language support classes, which the authors related to the main reason students enrolled in such programmes: improved English proficiency. Faculty did not feel as strongly with regards to supplementing classes, although the majority believed that content staff should also help with language-related needs. Some, however, noted that content teachers should be responsible for teaching content, that language support is beyond their skill set and there may be a shortage of teachers who can do this, as well as other issues such as time constraints, pressure, and lack of training.

2.2 Supporting students for EMI

Support for those studying on EMI programmes includes taught language and/or academic skills classes, either pre-sessional or in-sessional, and self-access support services to help them with language and/or academic skills problems. In their review of EMI research, Macaro et al. (2018) refer to three models of EMI: the preparatory year, the institutional support and the pre-institutional selection model. In the preparatory year model, students take long intensive EAP courses before studying through the medium of English. In universities where language proficiency is assumed to be higher, the institutional support model offers modified content courses at the start, supported with EAP or ESP courses. Language support is reduced over time as students start to take more content courses in English. The pre-institutional selection model provides limited language support, using English language entrance requirements to select students.

Lassegard (2006) makes a call for a range of support being available for students in EMI programmes in Japan. However, those in EMI programmes are likely

to have specific support needs, making it more complex than simply extending current provision. In the European EMI context, for example, some staff in EMI programmes felt that international students have different support needs from local students, that they require more support than local students and/or that their need for support is more urgent than that of local students (Kelo, 2006). Support offerings need to be tailored to the specific context (McKinley, 2011). Such tailoring would include internationalizing support offerings to be maximally effective for the diverse student body in an internationalized university (Bradford, 2013; Leask, 2009). Existing support systems in Japan and China were typically developed to support general English skills. If the same systems are used to support students in EMI courses or programmes they may need to be changed to effectively support EAP needs of students and to cater to students at higher language proficiency levels. In addition, since international students are recruited into EMI programmes, support should be suitable not only for domestic students but also for international students.

In Europe, Kelo (2006) found that self-access academic support (such as one-to-one tutorials) were highly rated by international students, with 75% of undergraduates being satisfied with it. Academic skills classes were taken up more often by students than language classes, and students reported higher levels of satisfaction with the former. Kelo, Rogers and Rumbley (2010) found that international students rated academic help to be the most important, followed by library and research support, one-to-one academic tutoring, and language help. Students reported that library and research support was the most common type of support available, followed by academic help, language help, and one-to-one academic tutoring.

In Japan, Bradford (2013) suggests that students enrolled in EMI programmes should have access to academic writing support. More and more writing support services have been established at Japanese universities in recent years (Johnston, Cornwell & Yoshida, 2008), and they have just started to be established at Chinese universities in the last 10 years. However, simply offering support is insufficient. It is also necessary to publicise the support to academic staff and students. In the case of Japanese students in particular, even if they struggle with the content of their classes and know that support is available they may be reluctant to take up such support. In Japan, Ishikura (2015) found that Japanese students were less likely than international students to feel that they needed support, even though they were more likely to encounter language difficulties when taking EMI classes.

3. Methods

3.1 Data Collection

This study draws on data collected from student (*n =702*) and staff (*n = 28*) questionnaires, interviews with domestic (*n=29*) and international (*n=10*) students and faculty (*n=27*) and focus groups with domestic (*n=4*) and international (*n=3*) students and faculty (*n=4*) (see Table 1). In an investigation of EMI policy implementation at the micro-level, it was deemed essential to supplement the data collected in Galloway et al (2017) to include international students given the growth in numbers in recent years. In Japan, for example, there was a 10.1% increase in international students in Japanese universities between 2016 and 2017 (JASSO, 2017). International student recruitment also plays a key role in universities' internationalisation agenda. Data collection tools were piloted with a small set of

Japanese university students by Nicola Galloway before she carried out data collection in person.

Table 1.Data collected

University	Student Interview		Staff Interview		Student Focus group	Staff Focus group	Questionnaire	
	Home	**Exchange**	**EAP**	**Content**			**Students**	**Staff**
Japan								
A	4	4	1	4	1 (*n*=6)		102	3
B		4		2			21	4
C	1	9	2	2	1 (*n*=5)		161	1
D	3	2	3	4	1 (*n*=5)	1 (*n*=3)	82	6
E	2	1		4			81	3
F								1
G								1
Several								1
Missing							7	
China								
H					1 (*n*=5)	1 (*n*=4)	61	
I	2			1			45	
J							2	
K							1	
L								1
M	0			0	1 (*n*=8)	1 (*n*=4)	8	3
N							7	1

O	7		4		2 (*n*=5; n=6)	1 (*n*=5)	124	3
Total	19	20	10	17	7	4	702	28

3.2 Participant overview

Questionnaires were completed in 15 universities and included 702 students and 28 teachers. Seventy-four percent of 454 respondents who were studying in Japan are Japanese, while 26 percent are international students (Table 2). On the other hand, almost all 248 respondents in China are Chinese (98 percent), except 5 students from Madagascar. The majority were female (67 percent in Japan and 60 percent in China), nearly half in Japan were 18 or 19 years old, compared to 22 percent in China. Of those older than 30, 12 were in Japan and 1 in China. While those in China were taking English-related (25 percent) or economics-related majors (25 percent), nearly half of respondents in Japan were studying international or global studies. Twenty seven percent of respondents in Japan and 20 percent in China were first-year undergraduate students, one third of students in Japan and China were in their second, and 26 percent in Japan and 44 percent in China were in their third year. The remaining 15 percent in Japan and 4 percent in China were fourth-year or postgraduate students. Most first- and some second-year students had not yet decided their majors.

Table 2. Nationality of students

	Japan		China	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Japan	336	74.0%		
Dual (with Japan)	16	3.5%		
USA	35	7.7%		
Mainland China	12	2.6%	243	98.0%
The other Asian countries	27	5.9%		
Other European countries	12	2.6%		
South Korea	6			
Phillipines	5			
Taiwan	3	0.7%		
UK	3	0.7%		
Brunei	3	0.7%		
Singapore	2	0.4%		
India	2	0.4%		
Thailand	2	0.4%		
Canada	1	0.2%		
New Zealand	1	0.2%		
Australia	1	0.2%		
Bangladesh	1	0.2%		
Pakistan	1	0.2%		
Indonesia	1	0.2%		
Micronesia	1	0.2%		
Argentina	1	0.2%		
Brazil	1	0.2%		
Missing	2	0.4%		

International students started learning English earlier than Japanese and Chinese students (Table 3) and nearly half of the international students in Japan reported starting when they were under 3 years old.

Table 3.Students' English learning experience

			Prior English learning experience				
Country			0-3	4-7	8-11	12-15	16-19
Japan	Domestic students		40	83	81	130	2
			11.9%	24.7%	24.1%	38.7%	0.6%
	International students		59	24	20	12	1
			50.9%	20.7%	17.2%	10.3%	0.9%
China	Domestic students		2	38	144	56	3
			0.8%	15.6%	59.3%	23.0%	1.2%
	International students		0	1	3	1	0
			0.0%	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	0.00%

Most Chinese domestic students (81.5%) reported having no experience abroad, whereas more than 80 percent of Japanese domestic students and almost all international students in Japan and China had experience (Table 4).

Table 4. Students' experience abroad

		Prior experience abroad					
Country		I had never been abroad	Less than 1 month	1 to 6 months	7 months to 1 year	1 to 3 years	More than 3 years
Japan	Domestic	66	94	26	49	29	72
		19.6%	28.0%	7.7%	14.6%	8.6%	21.4%
	International	4	10	18	21	24	39
		3.4%	8.6%	15.5%	18.1%	20.7%	33.6%
China	Domestic	198	25	4	1	11	4
		81.5%	10.3%	1.6%	0.4%	4.5%	1.6%
	International	0	0	0	0	0	5
		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Twenty eight teachers responded to the survey. Fifteen were male and thirteen were female, eight were from Japan, six were from China, five were from the USA, two from New Zealand, one from Australia, one had dual Chinese and US citizenship and one teacher preferred not to say. Six of the eight working in China were Chinese and eight of the 20 working in Japan were Japanese. Over half were between 41 to 50 years old, seven between 31 and 40, three between 51 and 60 and three were aged between 20 and 30. More than half of the respondents were teaching English and the others were teaching various subjects, including education, history, psychology and media and communication studies. Almost all were teaching undergraduate students, although 13 were also teaching at postgraduate level. The majority had been teaching their current subject for three or more years and all had work experience abroad.

Qualitative data was collected at 9 universities. Twenty nine interviewees were domestic students and 10 were international students. Nineteen of the domestic students were Japanese and 9 were Chinese. International student interviewees came the UK (*n*=1), the US (*n*=3), Taiwan (*n*=1), China (*n*=2), Singapore (*n*=1), the Philippines (*n*=1) and Lithuania (*n*=1). Focus group participants also included international students from Switzerland (*n*=1), Latvia (*n*=1), Taiwan (*n*=1), Spain (*n*=1), China (*n*=2), Canada (*n*=1) and the United States of America (*n*=1). In all student focus groups in Japan, both domestic and international students were present, whereas all student focus groups in China consisted of only Chinese students. Focus groups were also conducted with both EAP teachers and those teaching subjects through the medium of English. Ten interviews were conducted with EAP teachers and 17 with content teachers.

3.3 Data analysis

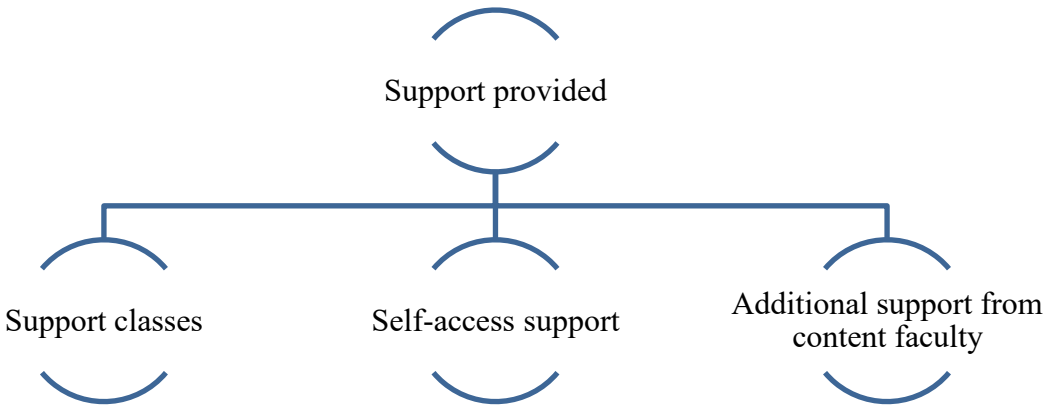
Qualitative analysis was conducted with *NVivo 11*. Data was first divided into cases and responses were analysed separately through within-case analysis. Each qualitative data set (open-ended questionnaire responses, interviews and focus groups) was analysed separately and codes were developed to create thematic frameworks. Coding was data-driven and while focus-group analysis also involved thematic analysis, the main focus was on the group discussion and the dynamics of interactions within the groups.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 Interview responses

The following themes emerged in the interviews (Figure 1.)

Figure 1. Interview and focus group thematic framework



4.1.1 Support classes

Students' views

Interviewees described the support classes provided in their institutions, revealing the variable nature, availability, duration, and content of such classes. TOEFL or IELTS tests are used as placement tests in universities A, C, D, and E. Compulsory EAP classes were common in all institutions, and they were offered for up to the first two years of study in University A, B, C, D, E. The number of compulsory EAP classes varied, often depending on both the university's policy and students' scores on the placement tests:

> (…) we have 4 streams, so they are placed into one of those streams, based on their score. If they have lower English skills, they have to take more courses in their freshman year. If their English level is higher, they still have to take 1 or 2 courses, but after that they can take other courses.
>
> Woo Liang (content teacher, University B)

However, both students and faculty criticised the relevance of these classes for students' majors. Fifteen students were critical and comments included reference to the fact that they "tells us how to make conversation in daily life, but it does not help with my major", which was a concern, given that "My major has many terms that are difficult to understand" (Fay (domestic student, University F)). Another student desired "more English classes about Business English" in the first year, "not just English, but Business English" as they struggled to understand the EMI materials in their first year, particularly difficult terminology (Li Xiang (domestic student, University I)).

Only 1 Chinese university (University F) offered ESP courses designed "to help students better understand their major" (Ty, EAP teacher, University F). In this university, students from other majors, such as Fay above, complained about the irrelevance of their EAP classes. However, one Japanese university produces its own

EAP textbooks tailored to the students' needs, which "focused on main concepts in [the students'] fields" (Emma, EAP teacher, University A). Others, provided general EAP classes, although there were some reports of attempts to tailor the content to students' needs. In University C, for example, some EAP instructors collaborated with content professors to make sure they covered similar topics in their classes, noting the importance of sharing the same text to give students "a lot more overlap, a lot more help, especially in these few weeks where the initial aura of it all quickly wears away and shellshocks them" (Prof Yoo (Content teacher, University C)).

Students in University A, where EAP instructors produce their own materials, were also more satisfied noting that "it's a good idea to have EAP", particularly due to how English is taught in schools which means that "Students are not used to speaking or listening, so EAP helps them to adapt to the style …" (Fumiko (domestic student, University A)).

Further, in both University A and D, the majority of students believed that "it is very helpful. Before I came here my TOEFL score was 470 but after I finished the EAP, I had 570" (Junko, domestic student, University A) and "they help (…) I guess they prepare you to write academic essays" that are required "in the future when you become a 3rd or 4th year" (Fuka, domestic student, University D).

Out of 15 students who criticized the additional language support in their universities, 7 were from Japanese (University B – 1; University C – 5; University E – 1), and 8 from Chinese (University F – 6; University G - 2) universities. This constituted between one third and half of all students from Japanese universities (two of the 15 were international students), but in the Chinese universities (F and G), 8 out of 9 were critical.

Teaching Staff views

With regard to faculty, views differed amongst EAP and content instructors. Half of the EAP instructors expressed concerns about the available support, as opposed to 3 of the 18 content instructors (Universities B, D and E). Moreover, all 10 EAP instructors expressed concerns that "EAP has moved too far away from the content" (Prof Beppu (EAP teacher, University C)), that "there's no idea of what is happening in those classes; the teachers could be teaching a variety of different things" (Eric (EAP teacher, University D)) and while one instructor hopes "that students will be able to take the content course after they finish the language course", they "doubt" that the whole programme "is preparing students for content courses" (Ty (EAP teacher, University F)).

Among the teachers who raised concerns about the "divorce" (Beppu, EAP teacher, University C), or divide, between EAP and content classes, the majority were EAP instructors, noting the lack of collaboration with content instructors as the main reason. Only 4 content teachers, however, as opposed to all 10 EAP teachers, discussed such collaboration-related challenges and mostly believed EAP support was sufficient.

4.1.2 Self-access support

Interviewees also discussed self-access support. Many were critical of the lack, or limited availability, of self-access support centres or classes, and, similar to the compulsory classes, the irrelevance of these to their needs. However, in University A and D, only positive comments were provided. University A was also distinctive in the range of additional support available, including an "Academic achievement centre", a "peer tutoring centre" that provides "peer mentoring" by a tutor who "has

taken the class they are taking" and an "Academic Advising system", where faculty are assigned 10 advisees for "one-to-one academic support" (Emma (EAP teacher, University A).

Students in University A also seemed satisfied with such support. While "official support stops for 3rd and 4th year students", they can still "get support" via the "Learning Development Centre" and a service "designed for academic support, essays etc", in addition "offices are generally open for students to pop in and students can ask professors for help" (Frank ('native' English speaking international student, University A)).

However, such views were not shared by those from other institutions, where both staff and students criticised support with regard to its availability, effectiveness, or, in one case, price. While "special TOEFL classes" are sometimes offered, Sandra (domestic student, University C) doesn't " go to these classes as they are expensive. They are not free. 30,000 Yen". In addition, Professor Norman (Content teacher, University B) noted that the "writing help desk" focuses on writing "and not language help".

In many cases, students were not aware of such support, although the teachers' and other students' accounts from their institutions suggested that it was available. In University F, for example, Fay, a domestic student, noted that there is no support, yet Ty, an EAP instructor from the same university noted that they "offer a programme called HIME - How do I improve my English?", where "Students can go and talk to a teacher consultant", including their content teachers. Mary and Violet, both domestic students from the University I also referred to a " centre for learning English" that

offers “lessons for learning more about English” and the many courses “offered for us to improve our English”, respectively.

4.1.3 Additional support from content faculty

In the interviews, the majority (12 out of 19, all based in Japan, including 14 domestic students, 1 international ‘native’ English speaking student and 4 international ‘non-native’ English speaking students) who discussed the issue of whether content teachers should help the students with their English proficiency expressed a belief that “if students can’t follow the content, [the content teachers] should help them” (Fumiko (Domestic student, University A)) and that, overall, “[content teachers] have to teach the content and help [the students] to understand English” (Reiko (Domestic student, University A)). However, 7 students (5 Domestic, 2 International ‘non-native’ English speaking students) expressed concerns as to whether it was feasible with regard to the teachers’ time and/or skills, questioning whether it should be their responsibility. Umeko (Domestic student, University C), for example, noted that in her “university, the content professors may not be good at English”; they “have the knowledge, they have skills to teach, like their field, but this does not mean they are good at teaching English. I think it’s different”. Similarly, Gaku (Domestic student, University E), feels that “It depends on the professor’s background referring to a professor who “has skills in content and academic writing” that they meet regularly and feels “lucky, as I don’t think all professors would help like that”. Junko (Domestic student, University A) was unsure, questioning whether “they have enough time” and noting that it would be “too difficult to help the students who are not good at English”.

All 12 instructors who commented on whether content staff should help the students with English (3 EAP and 9 content instructors) believed that it was necessary, whether it was direct instruction, directing them to additional support services, or adopting a "lenient" approach when assessing the students work from the perspective of linguistic correctness. Fumie (content teacher, University E) feels that we cannot "separate the two", referring to the need for both discipline-specific and academic vocabulary to discuss their subject and she tried to provide them with "a good model". Xavier (content teacher, University A) had spoken to his "colleagues about this", questioning whether they, as content professors, are "responsible to correct the grammar", noting that he does not penalise students "for grammatical mistakes, it's the content that matters. But I make them aware of the support available". Time to help students was reported to be an issue and several made comments about the discipline-specific nature of support. Prof Shibata (content teacher, University D) notes that "in some disciplines, like literature, writing is an important component that we try to teach, so I try to do that as often as I can, but often due to time constraints I'm not able to guide them as fully as I'd like to". Eric (EAP teacher, University D) also noted that content teachers often end up having to help students. While "the professors are expected to teach the content", since students have to submit essays in English, they often "spend their time teaching the academic writing they want in their research paper or thesis, whereas they really want to focus on the content. So there needs to be some kind of bridge". One content instructor also referred to a lack of TESOL training when discussing problems addressing the students' difficulties with the English language, and thinks that this should be the responsibility of EAP instructors:

teaching itself, like anything else, it's a discipline and it does require training in most cases, and I've already admitted that I've done 9 years of this without any formal training in ESL; I never took a TESOL course, not one. I do have a degree in English literature, so I have very good verbal skills, I have very good writing skills, but I think for the most part I would not want a content faculty member trying to teach ESL at all, if we have available to us trained competent professionals in ESL…

Silva (content teacher, University D)

4.2 Focus Groups

Students

There were 7 student focus groups in total, which included 3 focus groups comprised of both Japanese and international students, while the remaining 4 consisted of Chinese students (Table 5).

Table 5. Student focus groups composition.

Group number	University (country)	Participant names	Participant nationalities
1	A (Japan)	Luca	Switzerland
		Janis	Latvia
		Yui	Japan
		Rio	Japan
		Yuna	Japan
		Xiaodan	Taiwan
2	H (China)	Nancy	China
		Philipa	China
		Wesley	China
		Petra	China
		Candace	China
3	C (Japan)	York	Spain
		Watanabe	Japan
		Nozaki	Japan
		Haruto	Japan
		Mei Hua	China

4	I (China)	Bao Zhai	China
		Pei	China
		Gabrielle	China
		Fay	China
		Talika	China
		Willow	China
		Felicity	China
		Jinghua	China
5	F (China)	Otto	China
		Wilhimina	China
		Olive	China
		Rebecca	China
		Patricia	China
6	F (China)	Zane	China
		George	China
		Peter	China
		Jacob	China
		Tessa	China
		Penny	China
7	D	Xiu Rong	China
		Cheung	China
		Nick	US
		Jake	Canada
		Mei	Japan

The same themes emerged in the focus groups as in the interviews (Figure 1, Table 6).

Table 6. Thematic content of staff and student focus group discussions

Theme	**Student focus group**							**Staff focus Group**			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4
Support classes	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Self access support	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
Additional support from content faculty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

As with the interviews, additional support classes were discussed in 4 student focus groups (groups 1, 3, 5 and 6). However, apart from University A, where, as noted, students were most satisfied with such support, the other groups either did not discuss it at length or did not believe it was sufficient. There was brief mention of additional language support classes in some discussions, but these were not followed up by other members or discussed at length.

As with the interviews, various forms of self-access support were discussed, Xiaodan (international student, University A) mentioned that "Some subjects you can get support, like writing, from the ESC or something, but the Business courses, you can only study yourself or ask a friend, or talk to the teacher…". Nozaki (domestic student, University C), stated that the tutorial programme on offer at University C was not intended to support students speaking and listening skills, stating that it was intended more to help with written assignments.

The discussions also focused on a belief that content teachers should help them with their English, although as Nozaki (domestic student, University C) commented, "The professors help us to learn English or to study to improve our English skills, but no preparation before entering this university, in my experience".

All groups reported that their content instructors were willing to help students with language problems, yet as in the interviews, concerns were raised whether they were knowledgeable and qualified enough to provide such help. The focus groups revealed that this was related to belief in 'native' ownership of English, with many discussions centering on views such as "not many [non-native English speaking] teachers can teach in English currently" (Xiaodan, international student, University A). In this group, this comment was followed up by another student, who noted that, "if he was an English professor… he could actually help you with your English"

(Janis, international student, University A).

Staff

Out of 4 staff focus groups, 3 included EAP teachers and one included content teachers (Table 7).

Table 7. Teacher focus group

Group number	University (country)	Participant names	EAP/Content
1	H (China)	Erin	EAP
		Dongmei	EAP
		Nina	EAP
		Meirong	EAP
2	I	Yvonne	Content
		Barbara	Content
		Mingzhu	Content
		Melissa	Content
3	F	Joshua	EAP
		Fenella	EAP
		Norma	EAP
		Frances	EAP
		Terrence	EAP
4	D	Genji	EAP
		Atsushi	EAP
		Quinn	EAP

As in the student focus groups, additional support classes were not discussed at length although there was some mention of these in groups 1, 2 and 4. In group 2, for example, Mingzhu (Content instructor, University A) prompted Melissa (Content Instructor) to mention more support:

Extract 1 (Focus Group 2)

1. Melissa: Yes, we have writing course.
2. Mingzhu: We don't have just one course. We have very many English courses

3. focusing on different aspects of English, listening, speaking, reading.
4. Melissa: Reading, we have extensive reading classes, a lot of these we have.
5. Moderator: 1st, 2nd, 3rd & 4th year?
6. Mingzhu: Yes, each year has different courses.

It did not seem, however, that these classes were ESP classes linked to the linguistic requirements of specific majors. In group 1, for example, Meirong (EAP Instructor, University A) noted that "There is a kind of department, Business English", prompting Dongmei (EAP Instructor, University A) to add that they offer "1 or 2 language support courses" for those students. When asked if these were discipline specific, it became clear that these were more general, but certain departments offer their own support:

Extract 2 (Focus Group 1)

1. I: So you offer Business English courses?
2. Dongmei: No, just language support.
3. Erin: They have their own English Teaching centre.
4. Dongmei: Sometimes they ask us for help to improve the language skills of their students.
5. I: But they have their own English language teaching centre, in the
6. university?
7. Meirong: Yes, they have some teachers who were English majors.
8. Erin: I used to work in that unit in 1997. The idea is that they think
9. English is important for the majors in Economics and Business. That's why
10. they established this unit. It works very well.

Quinn (EAP Instructor, University D) also raised this concern in group 4, wishing that his students were more familiar with the vocabulary linked to his content class:

> Going back to my Law, I wish they knew how to explain what a statute is and different provisions in a statute. I wish they knew all that stuff already and I don't have time to teach it myself. I just give them examples (…) I often think about introducing that into my classes, but often I only meet students once a week for 90 minutes; here I meet them twice a week.

Group 3 discussed several major-specific EAP classes that were "very content-based" (Terrence, EAP Instructor, University F) and helped students with the transition to studying their major in English, including courses in English for Law. Joshua noted that "there is a Legal English course" for Law students, but "That's all I can think of". Fenella then added that she was aware of a "programme that is for Mechanical Engineering" and that their EAP classes require them to write about a topic "related to a major". She also added that the Mechanical Engineering students "begin to have their EMI major courses, from their junior years", where they take 3-4 courses in English and she referred to the transition period from their sophomore year, where they perhaps relate the content to their major. It was evident, however, that not all majors offered this kind of class, and the teachers agreed that they are needed:

Extract 10 (Focus Group 3)

1. Frances: Talking about that, I have one Engineering student, he happens to be
2. enrolled in my programme (…) He said I don't even know what the equipment
3. is that you want, when you tell me in English I don't even know how to fetch that, or what so you mean by kilogram (…)
4. Fenella: Obviously your student needs to use English for problem solving, but
5. also I think he needs some EAP courses.

6. Frances: Yes, I thought about that as well, so if we offer the chance for these
7. students to study like this, then why don't we offer EAP courses to prepare
8. them, to have programmes to prepare the students to go abroad, I think that's nice idea. But at the Engineering School I don't know if they have that.

4.3 Open-ended questionnaire responses

Students' views

Two hundred and sixty two students out of 702 (37%) commented that EMI programmes should provide language-support classes, mostly referring to the dual focus of EMI programmes; to teach both content and English ("it is the best way", "we can know more in this way", "English support classes are beneficial for me", "Help them understanding well about the lecture", and "It would help the student greatly"). "Help" and "helpful" were the third most mentioned words in the responses to this question, after "English" and "students".

Many responses related to the necessity of English proficiency to acquire the content ("If not, the students will fail to understand the lecture with low language capacity"; "It helps students to remember the words if the words appear many times"; "it will helps us learn knowledge in other fields in English, which can help us broaden our horizon and learn English better"), that it is part of a teachers' responsibility ("Besides his or her project, the lecturer should make sure that the students are able to understand the teaching content", "I have difficulties in math study using my mother tongue even" and "I think all the teachers should keep in mind that students are still learning English so they should sometimes explain anything that they assume was unknown to students. They can briefly explain a difficult grammatical structure they use or give a translation of special vocabulary").

Two hundred and fifty six students out of 702 (36%) commented on whether content faculty should also help students with their language-related needs, and the majority believed "that [helping with English proficiency] is also their role" and it "creates a good English learning environment" in general and also helps them acquire subject knowledge. It helps them remember difficult, content-specific vocabulary and, again, "helpful", "help" and "helpful" were most frequent after "English", "students", "language" and "learn". Sixty nine of the 256 responses were negative (27%). Among those commenting on this item were 28 domestic students in China, 27 domestic students in Japan, 8 international 'native' English speaking students in Japan and 6 international 'non-native' English speaking students in Japan. These students noted that the teachers' "main thing is to teach their major knowledge" (a domestic student, University F), that "focus [of the class] should by far be on subject matter" (a 'native' English speaking student, University D) and that "it's students' responsibility" (a domestic student, University C) to learn English.

Faculty views

Ten content teachers and 7 EAP teachers commented on whether EMI classes should be supported with language classes and, in line with the quantitative responses, the majority felt that "this can't be a bad thing" (content teacher, University D) and that "Students need strong EAP support before starting EMI (and possibly after)" (content teacher, Niigata). One of the content teachers believed that "non-native speakers need help that I cannot offer" (University B) and another noted that "content teachers do not speak English well in my context" (University I). When commenting on whether this kind of support is needed, some instructors mentioned the importance of collaboration between content and EAP teachers (which also emerged as one of

major themes in the interviews):

> Language centers or writing centers should play major roles in collaborating with instructors (EAP teacher, University D)

> Situations where English teachers and content teacher work together can be very beneficial (content teacher, University C)

Fifteen responses (8 content and 7 EAP instructors) were given in relation to whether content lecturers should also help with students' language-related needs. Interestingly, although the majority of teacher respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, the open-ended responses suggested otherwise. Although 9 out of 15 teachers who commented either agreed or strongly agreed, only 4 of 15 open-ended responses matched the selection on the Likert Scale. Comments included:

> Ideally yes, since immediate correction could be important (EAP teacher)

> Students must receive some acculturation into the language of the discipline (content teacher, University D)

Nine comments explained why this kind of support should not, or could not, be provided. Those who disagreed justified it with "limited time and energy" (content teacher, University I) of content instructors and believed that "it would be too much for those lecturers to be responsible for students' English learning" (content teacher, University B). One EAP instructor was concerned that "unless they are trained to do so, they will probably do more harm than good" (University A), and another argued that "we need to make sure that the students have enough English proficiency to deal with the content in English before they enter the programme" (University A).

5. Discussion

English medium instruction is in a state of boom. While initial growth was in Europe, EMI provision is growing rapidly, particularly throughout East and South-East Asia. English, traditionally taught as an object of instruction in such contexts, is increasingly becoming the medium of instruction and research examining varying aspects of this trend is needed to match the growth in provision.

Supporting students to study through the medium of English

Our study did not investigate attitudes towards specific support types (Kelo, 2006; Kelo, Rogers and Rumbley, 2010), but it does highlight the variable nature of support provided in Japanese and Chinese EMI programmes. Unlike Burgess et al (2010) and Tsuneyoshi (2005), who both reported a lack of support, the results highlight a range of support on offer. It varies in nature, availability, duration, and content. Many universities provide self-access support services and academic writing support (Bradford, 2013) and the findings support Johnston et al (2008), who reported increased provision of writing support services in Japanese universities.

Compulsory EAP classes are common, but despite calls for a range of different support mechanisms (Lassegard, 2006), in most of the institutions, apart from A and D, both students and faculty criticised the relevance of these classes and were critical of the lack, or limited availability, of support. Only one Japanese university produced its own EAP textbooks tailored to the students' needs, and it was here that students were most satisfied. Some students were also unaware of the support available and in addition to communicating the goals of the programme clearly, students, and staff, should be made aware of the support on offer to help students study through the medium of English.

EMI and English proficiency

This study further highlights the relationship between EMI and English proficiency goals in the East Asian context (Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020). A large number of responses related to a necessity of English proficiency to acquire the content and students are aware that English proficiency influences performance on EMI programmes, including acquisition of subject knowledge (Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020; Hu, 2009). Several faculty members also raised concerns about students' ability to learn content through English. A large number of students think that providing support will help them improve their overall English proficiency ("help students know English expressiveness in other field") which, as Galloway et al (2017), Galloway et al (2020) and Sim (2018) concluded, was the main reason students were enrolled in such programmes. The many 'language-related challenges' associated with EMI bolster the need for additional support for both the language and academic skills of students (Bradford, 2013; Galloway et al, 2017; Galloway et al, 2020; Ishikura, 2015; Kelo, Rogers & Rumbley, 2010; Lassegard, 2006).

The need for support will certainly vary according to the country, university, discipline and other factors. Our aim is not to suggest that there is a one-size-fits-all approach to EMI. Swedish students, for example, may not feel that learning in English influences their ability to understand content (Airey, 2011). In South Korea, however, less than a third felt they could understand 80% of the subject matter (Kim, 2017). Context- and subject-specific support that responds to the needs of students in a particular institution or department is needed. Approaches to EMI differ, which relates to the differing driving forces and rationale behind this educational offering at both the macro and meso level. However, if English language proficiency goals are central to the purpose of the programme, then it is necessary to explore the most

appropriate type of support. A small body of studies have measured language gains in EMI settings and the evidence is not positive (Macaro et al., 2018). Hu, Li and Lei (2014), for example, found that the same proficiency gains on two proficiency tests were made with those studying on a Chinese medium programme while taking general English language classes. Internationalisation brings many benefits, but there are also many risks. As provision grows, we need to stop and ask questions. What is the goal of EMI? How do we support students to study through the medium of English? Who should provide this support? What training is needed for staff working on such programmes (both those delivering content and English classes)? What are the core principles of EMI? What are the needs of the growing international student body?

Differing conceptualisations of support between content and EAP specialists

This study highlights differences in attitudes amongst EAP and content instructors, as well as a lack of collaboration (Galloway et al, 2017). The lack of such support may require teachers to decrease the amount of content covered and/or the depth of coverage, in order to ensure that students can keep up (Hu, 2009), yet content specialists working on EMI programmes are not usually trained in providing language support, and may also have little or no training in teaching methodology for internationalised classrooms. A lack of TESOL training was noted and there is a lack of clarity over the role of both types of teacher, although students feel that those teaching content also have a duty to help students with their language-related needs, in addition to dedicated classes from language specialists. The results have implications for teacher education, as well as the focus of assessment in EMI programmes, with students calling for a more "lenient" approach when assessing their

work from the perspective of linguistic correctness. EMI clearly places a lot of demands on teachers and students are aware of the pressure this places on content instructors, but also display concerns over their ability to provide language support.

Addressing different students' needs

The study revealed a difference in attitudes between students in Japan and China. Differences in language learning experience amongst domestic and international students, as well as differences in experience studying abroad, also highlight the need for context-specific approaches to EMI. This study also highlights differences in attitudes, and needs, of international and domestic students (Kelo, 2006; Bradford, 2013; Leask, 2009). More research on the differing needs of those in these diverse EMI classrooms is needed to inform both curriculum evaluation and design. Different models of EMI exist (Macaro et al, 2018) and we urge EMI curriculum planners to explore the different models and adapt these to their context. Burgess et al. (2010), for example, found that EMI classes are often too difficult for Japanese students and, as a result, EMI courses are often taken by international students and some Japanese students who have returned from studying abroad. Such an approach to EMI clearly does not meet the goals of internationalisation and there is a fear that without more research, the focus on quantitative growth in provision is not only overshadowing the focus on quality, but also on how EMI should be approached in different contexts. Some students were also unaware of the support available. In addition to communicating the goals of the programme clearly, students, and staff for that matter, should be made aware of the support on offer to help with studying through the medium of English.

6. Conclusion

As universities in non-Anglophone contexts strive to become globally competitive, internationalisation and EMI seem to go hand in hand. However, true internationalisation should take account of the needs of students and ensure they have the support necessary to study through the medium of English. Macaro et al (2018) call for more research into the challenges faced by students in EMI contexts. While this study focused on Japan and China, it highlights the need for research into the provision of support and raises several questions about the type of support required and who should provide it, as well as the overall focus on language in assignment submissions. This is particularly important where EMI policies are closely connected to goals to improve English proficiency. The differences in needs between domestic and international students call for support to be internationalized to be maximally effective for the diverse student body (Bradford, 2013; Leask, 2009).

EMI, promoted by a string of highly-funded government policies, can bring benefits at the national, institutional and personal level. Nevertheless, successful policy implementation is not guaranteed. This article has focused on Japan and China, two contexts experiencing rapid growth in provision. However, EMI is a global trend. We call for more research into both the provision of support for students, as well as other language-related challenges. The EMI boom cannot continue to go unmonitored in terms of the goals, support provision and faculty training. If language proficiency gains in EMI are a clear policy goal, then such programmes need to be accompanied by language classes and staff require adequate training. “The need for clear, articulated rationales for internationalization cannot be overstated” (Knight, 2012, p. 33) and this study highlights that in the case of Japan and China, with regards

to the provision of academic and language support, the approach is rather ad hoc. We call for a more strategic approach to ensure that the benefits of EMI can be achieved.

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